

SECTION 3.0 - RIVER POINT NEIGHBORHOOD

3.1 Introduction

As specified in the Phase II survey report, the River Point Neighborhood (Survey Area R-8):

“includes the northern part of the S. Washington Avenue commercial district and the River Point residential neighborhood to its north, east and west (Figure 2). Both the commercial district and the residential neighborhood illustrate the late 19th and early 20th century period of Lansing’s history, when the new automobile industry changed people’s ways of life and drew Lansing’s growth into new areas. Lansing’s early 20th century housing shortage is made apparent here with the courtyard housing on Gross Court and Cottage Avenue, and the densely developed and cohesive River Point neighborhood, with its many speculative identical houses.

Though this neighborhood is modest in scope and scale, it is unique in Lansing for its enclave character. Tucked into the corner of the Red Cedar and the Grand rivers and hidden behind the commercial blocks of S. Washington, this area has been insulated from many of the changes that have altered similar Lansing neighborhoods.

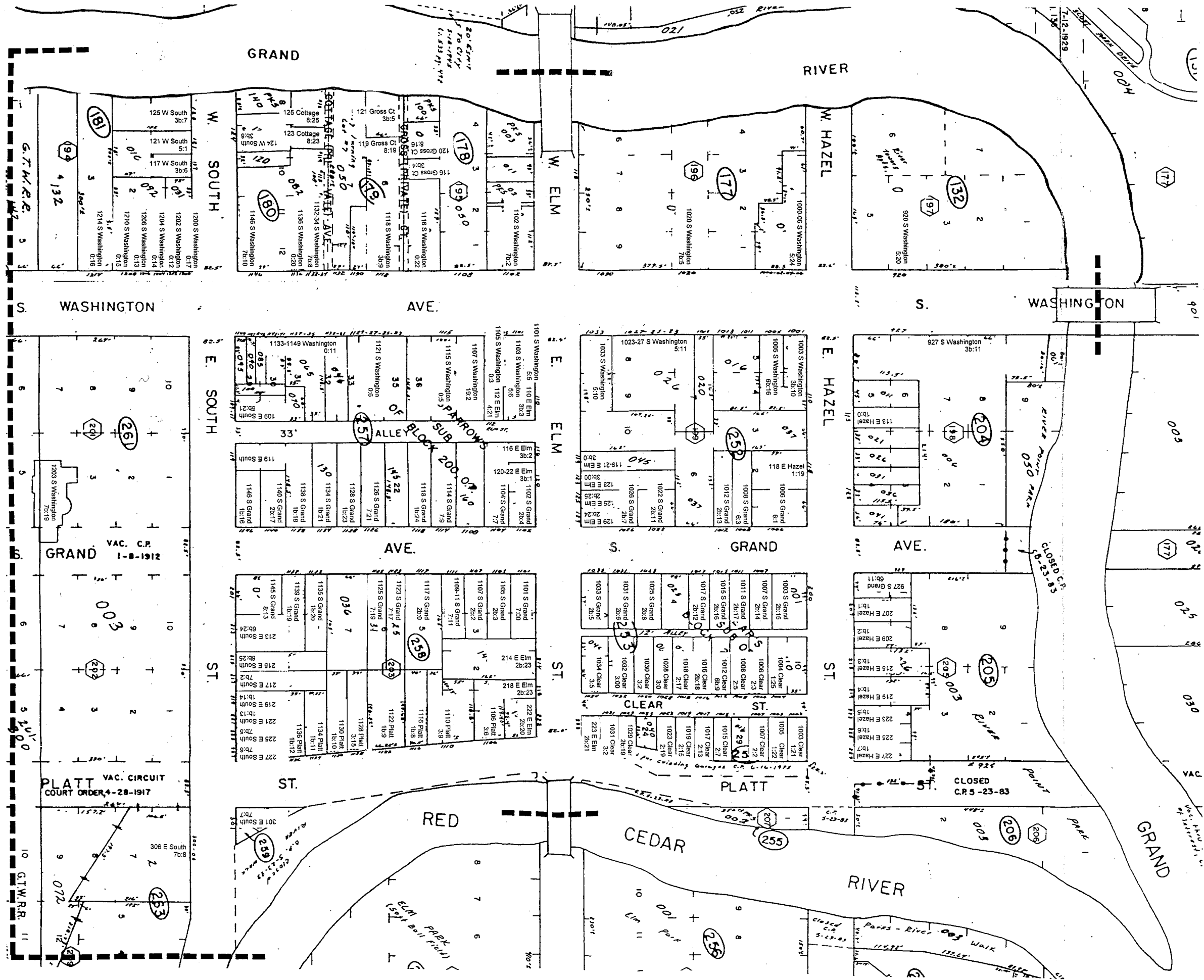
The neighborhood’s history is closely aligned to the history of Lansing’s automobile history, as indicated by study of the workplaces of residents. The short and intense period the neighborhood’s development also creates its cohesive character and makes it a framed ‘snapshot’ of development in the period. Although many of the new houses have had new cladding, their basic ‘workingmen’s cottage’ architectural character remains and is evocative of an important period in Lansing’s history” (City of Lansing 1998:19).

Based on these considerations and conclusions, the authors of the 1998 Phase II survey recommended that both local and NRHP historic district nominations be pursued for the River Point Neighborhood (City of Lansing 1998:19). Pursuant to this end, the following sections provide the additional documentation that was requested by the Michigan SHPO. For the purposes of this discussion, we have chosen to subsume the historical and architectural significance of the River Point Neighborhood under the unifying context of *Industry* – more specifically, the *Automobile Industry* – with further emphasis on the sub-themes of *Commercial Architecture*, *Residential Architecture*, *Ecclesiastic Architecture*, and *Transportation*.

Figure 2. River Point Neighborhood study area.



SURVEY BOUNDARY



3.2 Context Statement – Industry

Region: City of Lansing
Period: c. 1880 – 2000
Theme: Automobile Industry

Overview

While the establishment of Lansing as the state capitol dominated the city's historical development during the 19th century, the growth of the automobile industry was clearly the dominant development of the 20th century. Initiated about 1900 and peaking during the 1920s and 1930s, this unprecedented period of economic prosperity, municipal optimism, and real growth led to the establishment of the majority of Lansing's residential neighborhoods and many of its landmark commercial and industrial structures. Between 1890 and 1930 Lansing's population jumped from 13,102 to 78,397, with the biggest increase of 31,229 to 57,327 recorded between 1910 and 1920. Although the proliferation of automobile and related industries indelibly shaped the present character of the River Point Neighborhood, none of the relevant industrial sites were actually located within the survey boundaries. Nonetheless, the overview of major automotive companies which follows provides an essential interpretive framework for understanding the general historic development of Lansing during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and contextualizes the specific development of the River Point Neighborhood.

Lansing's prominence as an early automotive center was the result of both serendipity and suitability. In 1880, Pliny F. Olds moved his family, including sons Wallace and Ransom, to Lansing, where he established a machine repair and steam engine shop on River Street. Although other Lansing inventors, such as Madison Bates, George Bohnet, and Frank Clark also were to build automobiles, only the models of Ransom E. Olds captured both the public market and imagination. In 1885, at the age of 21, R.E. Olds joined his father as a partner in P.F. Olds and Son, and the two successfully sold a number of gas-generated steam engines. The company incorporated in 1893, and by 1896 the younger Olds had completed his third horseless carriage by combining his own gasoline-powered internal combustion engine combined with a carriage designed by Frank Clark, who was then working for the Clark and Co. carriage shop, described at the time as one of the largest concerns of its kind in the state (*Headlight Flashes* 1895). In 1897, R.E. Olds presented a plan for an automobile manufacturing company to some of the city's prominent businessmen; the resultant Olds Motor Vehicle Co. was financed by Edward W. Sparrow, Arthur C. Stebbins, and Eugene F. Cooley. In 1898, a new company called the Olds Motor Works received increased capital from two of the stockholders, E.W. Sparrow and Samuel L. Smith, the latter a former Lansing resident then living in Detroit. By 1900, Lansing had all the makings of an incipient auto town, with seven carriage, wagon, spoke and engine companies active in addition to the Olds Motor Works.

The following year, however, in search of greater markets and financial backing, Olds moved his operation to Detroit. In 1901, the Lansing Businessmen's Association – a precursor to the modern Chamber of Commerce – took advantage of labor unrest and a plant fire in Detroit, and attempted to lure Olds back to Lansing. Realizing that the city's wagon and buggy industry might soon be eclipsed by the horseless carriage, they offered Olds a former fairgrounds to the north of the Grand River as a new factory site. Olds accepted, and work began on a new Olds Motor Works factory on the city's south side, which took advantage of both Lansing's excellent

rail connections, and already established machinery and wagon works, which could be easily adapted to serve as parts suppliers for automotive production:

"The engines and running gear would be made first at the Olds Gasoline Engine Works [formerly P.F. Olds and Son] and later at the new factory of the Olds Motor Works. The production of bodies and wheels would be let out on contract. Because of the bulk of these parts, the bodies in particular, and the transportation costs involved in hauling them some distance, it was mandatory that Lansing should have factories that could supply these parts. In 1901 Lansing had two plants that were manufacturing automobile bodies and wheels. William K. Prudden and Co., whose specialty was sulkies, bike buggies, and rubber tires, had been in business [under various names since 1887 and in various locations, including large facilities at 701-35 East Saginaw]. [Prudden] was supplying the local demand for these products and had taken contracts for them from companies in Detroit and elsewhere. The other factory [whose founders in 1901 included lawyer and Lansing Businessmen's Association vice-president Harris Thomas] was the Auto Body Co. [207 East Grand River], producer of automobile and carriage bodies. With these two firms supplying the bodies and wheels, it was possible for the Olds Motor Works to manufacture a complete automobile; this was a vital consideration in the decision to erect a plant at Lansing" (Niemeyer 1963:42).

During his brief tenure with the Olds Motor Works in Lansing, R.E. Olds and engineer Horace F. Loomis pioneered the famous curved dash "Merry Oldsmobile," a low-priced runabout produced on a precursor to later assembly line techniques. By 1903, profits were so good that the management decided to sell the gasoline engine works portion of the business to the Seager family. James H. Seager, who was on the Oldsmobile Board of Directors, had made his fortune in Upper Peninsula copper. By 1904, however, disagreements with the board over the direction of the company caused Olds to resign and establish his own company, the Reo Motor Car Company, with a new plant at 1331 S. Washington, just to the south of the River Point Neighborhood. The Olds Motor Works, which remained in Lansing under the management of Edward Verlinden, was taken over by William C. Durant's General Motors Corporation in 1908.

By 1910, the city's four major employers all were auto-related, including Olds Motor Works; ROE; the Lansing Co.; and the Auto Body Co.. Olds himself was directly responsible for three of these firms, and also played a pivotal role in the founding of other related firms, such as the National Coil Co. (c. 1906 [221 N. Cedar]), the Michigan Screw Co. (c. 1906 [502 S. Hosmer]), Atlas Drop Forge (c. 1906 [originally located on Mill Street, moved to 209 W. Mt. Hope c. 1913]; and the Original Gas Engine Co., later known as the Ideal Power Lawn Mower Co. (c. 1912 [704 E. Kalamazoo]). In 1910, Olds purchased the E. Bement Sons Co. agricultural implements plant on Grand at the foot of Ionia as a site for the manufacture of trucks. The Reo Truck Company was organized that same year, later to be absorbed by the Reo Motor Car Company in 1916.

Other auto-related industries established during this period included the Novo Engine Co., an outgrowth of the earlier Hildreth Motor and Pump Co., which reorganized under this name in 1908 at their 702 Porter Street site; and the Duplex Truck Co., founded in Charlotte in 1906, but which constructed a plant at 2100 S. Washington in 1917. In 1925, Duplex moved to 830 E. Hazel Street and sold the S. Washington plant to Reo, which used the building as a truck and bus plant (Caterino 1986). The Hughs Lyons Co., located at 700 East South, began in 1886

with the production of wax figures and hat conformers. In 1918, the company turned to metal plating, display fixtures, and special bodies for commercial vehicles.

The prominence of auto manufacturing within the city's economy only strengthened in the ensuing decade. Despite Chamber of Commerce accolades on the diversity of Lansing industry, the auto industry entirely dominated profits and employment. All together, Reo, Olds, Prudden, and the Auto Body Co. employed over 8,000 people, and the city's nine largest employers were all auto-related concerns. The industry continued to expand through the late 1920s. In 1920, a merger of Prudden Wheel Co., Auto Wheel Co., and the Gier Pressed Steel Co., created the Motor Wheel Corporation, which located its headquarters at 701 East Saginaw. The following year, the then ousted General Motors merger king, William C. Durant, founded his own company – and Lansing's third auto manufacturer – and began constructing a new plant at 401 N. Verlinden. The resultant Durant Motor Car Co. operated in Lansing, producing such models as the Star, until bankruptcy forced its closure around 1930. One of the other General Motors subsidiaries, Fisher Body, took over the site in 1935. The site currently houses the Buick-Olds-Cadillac Lansing Car Assembly Plant.

Not surprisingly, the era's economic prosperity prompted a burst of new construction. Some of the new commercial buildings, such as the Prudden Building (1921), the Hotel Olds and the Capitol National Bank, were linked directly to funds provided by auto magnates such as R.E. Olds. Others simply reflected the buoyancy and prosperity of the automotive economy. In 1926, Olds financed the 13-story Hotel Olds (now the Plaza Travel Lodge). Built in 1925-26 at the southeast corner of S. Capitol and Michigan avenues, the hotel was erected by the Lansing Community Hotel Corporation, of which Olds was chairman. The Olds Hotel supplanted the old hostelrys along Washington Avenue and provided the city with a 1,500 person convention room, exclusive ground floor shops, and a room for the Lansing City Club. R.E. Olds was also responsible for the Lansing's tallest *skyscraper*, the 25-story Capitol National Bank, constructed in 1929-31. The new bank at 124-26 West Ottawa was designed by the New York firm of Hopkins and Dentz to house the bank, Olds offices, and rental space.

A burst of post-World War 1 housing construction was also related to the growing numbers of auto workers flocking to Lansing during this period. The housing shortage, already critical due to the city's post-1900 population explosion, was worsened due to the wartime housing construction moratorium. To meet the crisis and to assure builders that houses built on speculation would find a ready market, the *Lansing State Journal*, the Lansing Real Estate Board, the Chamber of Commerce and city officials began a nine-day "own your own home" campaign in April 1919. "A supreme effort is being made," said the State Journal, "to pledge for Lansing enough homes to properly house its families," as well as new arrivals. The warning of William C. Durant, president of General Motors, that "Lansing must match the expenditure of millions by General Motors with adequate housing for its workingmen" heightened the intensity of the campaign.

The *own your own home* crusade became a regular feature of *Lansing State Journal* editorials and advertising supplements for months after the planned nine-day effort. By the spring of 1921, however, the crisis had eased, as new residential subdivisions appeared throughout Lansing and city officials reported a record number of building permits (Kestenbaum 1981:89). Among the various working class subdivisions developed during this time were Quentin Park, Greencroft (i.e., the Strathmore vicinity), and Park Heights and Moore's Park subdivisions between Logan, Moore's River, South Washington and Barnes. The majority of residents of

these neighborhoods worked in southside auto industries, such as Novo, Duplex, Reo, Olds Motor Works, and Atlas Drop Forge. A promotional plat map for Park Heights in the *Lansing State Journal* for 10 February 1917 featured the headline, "Drop Forge, Duplex Motor, Slightly Plat in the City!" Oak Park was the creation of B.F. Davis, president of the City National Bank, real estate developer Nathan Judson, and William T. Britten, a contractor and real estate dealer.

By 1930, Lansing's population had reached 78,397. With the Great Depression of the 1930s, the growth spurt was largely over; 1940 population figures grew to only 78,753. Sales at Reo were faltering even before the stock market crash of 1929, and in 1938 the beleaguered company was finally placed into receivership, two years after it ceased production and Olds had retired from the company. Durant failed to survive even that long. Of the three major automobile firms, only Oldsmobile maintained economic viability throughout the Depression. Despite this survival, a workforce that had survived nearly a decade of economic hardship, was in the mood for a significant change. By 1937, Lansing automotive workers joined in the wave of sit-down strikes that were occurring throughout the state's auto industry.

The outbreak of World War II, however, brought renewed vitality to city industry. Many of the major auto companies shut down operations of civilian vehicles and turned to the production of munitions and military vehicles. "Before the war ended, 24 Lansing war plants held government contracts, and scores of smaller firms produced component parts on a subcontract basis. A reorganized Reo manufactured trucks and heavy equipment" (Kestenbaum 1981:109).

Between 1942-45, Oldsmobile produced "48,000 rounds of artillery ammunition, 140,000 aircraft machine guns and tank cannons, nearly 350,000 high precision parts for aircraft engines and 175,000,000 pounds of forgings for military trucks, tanks, aircraft and guns" (Oldsmobile 1968:6). By 1943, the Nash-Kelvinator plant, housed at the Duplex Truck site of 2100 S. Washington, "had become the world's largest producer of airplane propellers ... in its \$80-million facility. Fisher Body - which manufactured ailerons, rudders, and elevators for the B-29 - had one of the largest war contracts in the area. Federal, Lindell, and Atlas Drop Forge made castings of every conceivable variety; Abrams Instrument, Dail Steel Products, Olofsson Tool and Die, and the Novo Engine Co. also held wartime contracts. With wartime labor shortages, thousands of women worked in these and other Lansing industries" (Kestenbaum 1981:109).

River Point Neighborhood

The River Point Neighborhood is located on the near south side of Lansing, just south of the confluence of the Grand and Red Cedar rivers. It is bounded on the west and north by the Grand River, on the east by the Red Cedar River, and the Grand Trunk Western RR tracks on the south (Figure 2).

The general area, originally known as the *Upper Village*, was first platted in 1847, but its remoteness and general inaccessibility hindered its growth. Ready access to the area was not achieved until 1857, when the first Washington Avenue bridge over the Grand River was constructed by Bush, Thomas and Lee, local land developers with interests in the old Upper Village area. As of 1859, the *Map of Ingham County, Michigan* (Geil 1859) recorded only one structure present to the south of the bridge, in this case on the northeast corner of Washington and Elm.

Significant development of the River Pointe Neighborhood does not appear to have occurred until the early 1870s, when the wooden bridge over the Grand River was replaced by an iron truss bridge (c. 1873; Edmonds 1944:66). Initial improvements were primarily residential in nature (Figure 3). As of 1874, there were at least eight residential units scattered along the west side of the S. Washington Avenue frontage; at least seven residences in the block bounded by Hazel, Washington, Elm and Lee [modern Grand] (Block 199); and at least five residences to the south of South Street and east of Washington Avenue (Blocks 201-203). The latter cluster of structures was in general association with the east-west railroad tracks and the associated passenger depot (Beers 1874). It should be noted that the Peninsular RR line was opened in December 1869. Other than the railroad depot, only one commercial property was recorded as of 1874, that being a *Beer Garden* owned by C. Woolf, which appears to correspond to a residence located at 212 E. Elm (Lot 2 Block 203). Of the 21 structures depicted as present in 1874, only one structure appears to have survived to the present day – a small, highly modified single-story structure at 118 E. Hazel (Lot 2 Block 195).

As ownership information for all of the structures and many of the vacant lots is provided by Beers (1874), some sense of the earliest neighborhood demographics can be discerned by reference to the contemporary Lansing city directory (Brown 1873). Cross-referenced names include:

Abner C. Bruen, miller, NE corner Washington and Elm
 Arthur Bruen, farmer, NE corner Washington and Elm
 George Cheney, carpenter, S side Hazel bet Washington and Lee
 Van Rensselaer Cheney, carpenter, W side Lee bet. Hazel and Elm
 Theresa Clear, widow, S side Hazel bet. Washington and Lee
 James Foley, clerk, H.W. Squiers grocery, E side Washington bet. Elm and Hazel
 August Galler, laborer, SE corner Lee and Hazel
 Alvin B. Hudson, carpenter, SE corner Washington and Hazel
 Walter M. Raleigh, tobacco agent, NE corner Washington and Elm
 Henry Richardson, gardener, NW corner Elm and Lee
 Henry P. Richardson, laborer, NW corner Elm and Lee
 Christian Woolf, farmer and lager beer gardens, S side Elm bet. Lee and Platt

As can be seen from the 1874 depiction, structural saturation had not yet reached 10%, with a significant proportion of the land in the study area remaining in the hands of absentee landlords or unimproved in the hands of investors. At least two of these landowners held adjacent properties fronting on Main Street, to the north of the Grand River, where their residences were located. Edward R. Thompson also owned a few city lots on W. Elm, but resided elsewhere. Other absentee owners who held lots on the west side of Washington Avenue included William H. Chapman, an attorney; William Smith, a carpenter; and Benjamin F. Bailey. The demographic composition of the local population during this initial growth phase set patterns which continued throughout the remainder of its development. In general, the community consisted largely of Anglo-Americans working in either the construction or retailing trades. The presence of relatively large numbers of carpenters may relate to the incipient structural development of the neighborhood; similar employment patterns have been noted in expanding urban/suburban edge environments (e.g., Detroit).

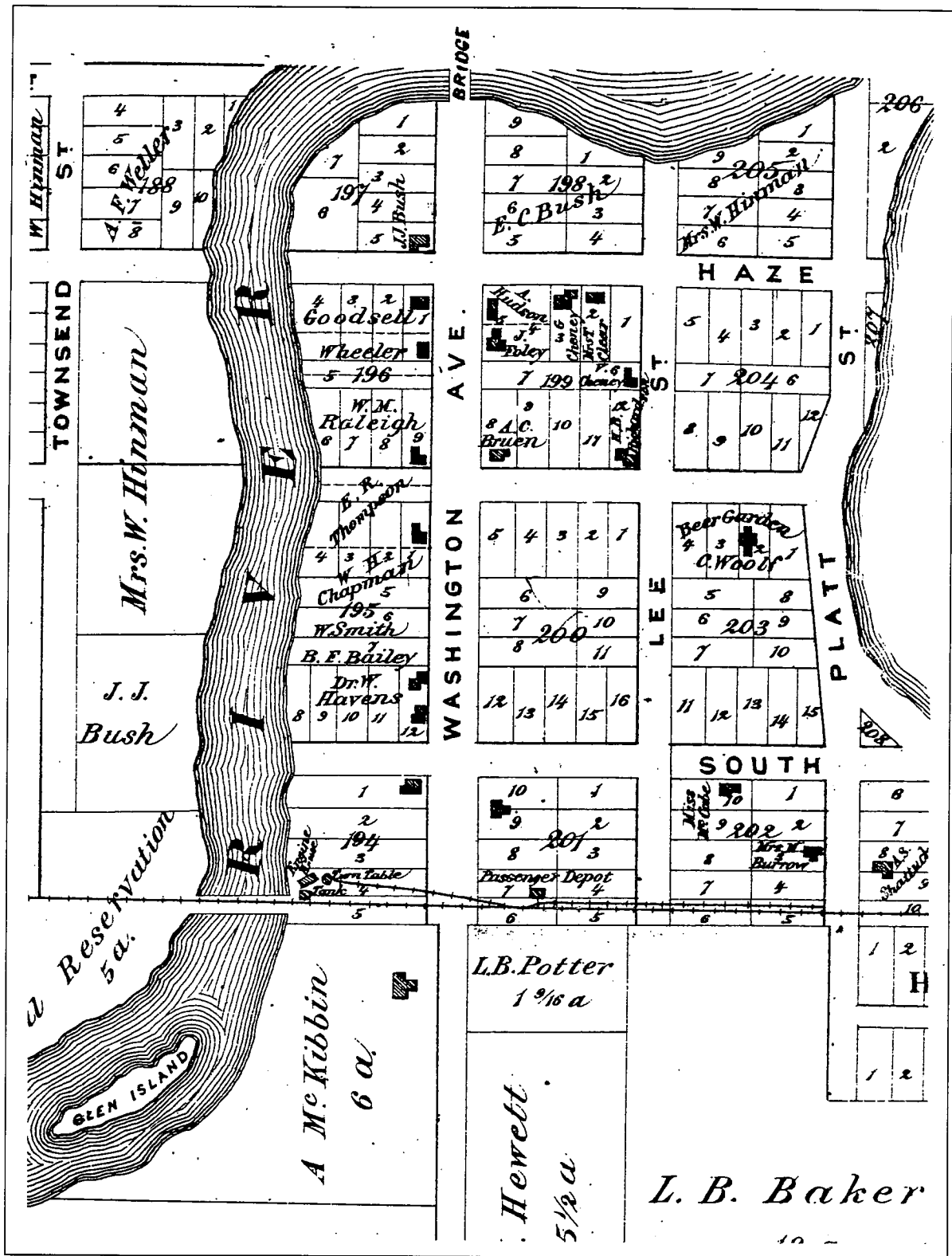


Figure 3. River Point Neighborhood c. 1873.

It appears unlikely that Christian Woolf, a native of the German state of Württemberg, actually farmed at his Elm Street location, but it is known that he also owned a billiard saloon in downtown Lansing, in partnership with Edgar Roberts. The latter resided at that site and perhaps managed it. By 1880, the entrepreneur was dead and his Prussian-born wife was renting living quarters to several families. Several members of the Clear family were also well established in the local area by 1880. The latter day Clear-Bauer Company, which specialized in freighting and ice delivery, had its inception by this date. The widow Theresa (or Tracy) Clear, a native of Hesse-Darmstadt, lived together with her two sons and daughter-in-law at 114 E. Hazel (Beers 1874; Brown 1873; Chilson, McKinley 1900; Panetta 1991, 1994, United States Census Bureau 1880).

Although it is difficult to reconstruct readily the precise composition of the River Point Neighborhood during this era, the 1880 census does provide some data on the general nature of the local demography. Already by this early date, the neighborhood exhibited the basic features of its later development. Most of the local residents were native-born Michiganians. Not surprisingly, New Yorkers predominated among American immigrants to the area, while Canadians and Germans comprised the bulk of the foreign-born element during this period. The largely working class composition of the community was also evident at this early date. In addition to the teamsters noted above, there were several laborers, farmers, railroad employees, a carpenter, and a stone mason. Occupations with apparent higher socioeconomic status included a banker, a surveyor, a traveling sales agent, and a few state office clerks (U.S. Census 1880).

Even as late as the turn of the 20th century, the level of structural development within the general project area was not extensive enough to warrant full coverage by the Sanborn insurance atlases. In fact, the only area of coverage was the west side of S. Washington, between the C>TR tracks on the south and the approximate line of Elm on the north. It should be noted that even at that relatively late date, commercial structural development of that frontage was limited to a two-story frame *beef and provisions* structure at 1216 S. Washington; a ruined structure of unknown function on the southwest corner of S. Washington and W. South (1204 S. Washington); a two-story brick-veneered grocery store on the opposite corner (1130 S. Washington); a wall paper store that had been added to the front of an older residence at 1126 S. Washington; the Eureka Cigar Box Co., which had been added to the rear of 1120 S. Washington; and the Lansing City Electric Railway Co., which had constructed a car barn at 1108-1110 S. Washington. Several other older residences remained extant at that date, but none of the currently extant commercial brick storefronts had been erected by that date (Sanborn-Perris 1898).

Although the uneven quality of the city directories during this period makes it difficult to precisely reconstruct residential structural development in the area at the turn of the century, it is clear that the local population was increasing. If we take 1880 as the effective beginning of the settlement of the River Point Neighborhood, the overall Lansing population was then at 8,319. Ten years later, in 1890, it reached 13,102, and by 1900, had reached 16,485. Concomitant with this overall growth, which can be seen to correspond to the general, yet incipient rise of Lansing's manufacturing fortunes in the latter decades of the 19th century, was the demand for increased housing. By 1900, the population in the area north of South Street in the River Point Neighborhood had grown to just over 200 individuals. Among these residents, almost 90% were American-born, and of those, nearly 75% were natives of Michigan. Reflective of both older, as well as more recent trends of immigration, migrants from New

York and Ohio were nearly equally represented, and predominated among the remaining portion. A few native-born migrants originated from several other Eastern and Midwestern states. In the neighborhood's foreign element at this time, roughly half had emigrated from Canada, 30% from Great Britain, and 20% from Germany.

Analysis of the employment categories during this formative era illustrates the pre-industrial nature of the neighborhood, i.e., its composition and context prior to the emergence of automobile industry as the driving force in Lansing's economy. The occupations reported in whole numbers may be sorted as follows:

Day laborers (6)
Freighting: teamster, drayman, wagon master (10)
Railroad: baggageman, car inspector, foreman, repair (6)
Interurban: motorman (4)
Construction: carpenter, roofer, painter, decorator, paperhanger, bridge builder, stone mason (11)
Woodworking: box maker, turner, chair maker, furniture finisher (4)
Manufacturing: boilermaker, nickel plater, iron molder, machinist, rug weaver (6)
Sales/service: grocer, ice dealer, peddler, book agent, barber, shoemaker, restaurateur, waiter (9)
Skilled: electrician, engineer (2)
Miscellaneous: telegraph operator, capitalist (2)

Five women held jobs other than homemakers. These included a teacher, a servant, a stenographer, and two waitresses (U.S. Census 1900).

If 1900 marks the pre-industrial stage of the River Point Neighborhood, its transformation into a working class neighborhood with near total dedication to the automobile industry was only a few years away. While Lansing had been the home of a number of manufacturing interests prior to the turn of the 20th century, its radical transformation into an automotive manufacturing center during the early decades of the 20th century can be directly linked to the activities of a young man working as a bookkeeper by day and inventor/machinist by night in his father's engine shop on River Street.

One early morning in the summer of 1887, Ransom E. Olds ventured from his father's shop in his first *horseless carriage*. Olds continued his development, and in 1892, with the assistance of his brother, Wallace, and Madison F. Bates, a skilled machinist at the Olds engine factory, produced their own internal combustion engine. That same year Olds also built his second horseless carriage. The next several years were spent experimenting, but it was not until 1896 that Old returned to work on his horseless carriage. Needing additional capital to continue his work, Olds sold shares in his Engine Works. Among the first investors were two prominent Lansing businessmen, Edward Sparrow and Samuel S. Smith. By 1898, Old had completed his third prototype, and in 1900 the first two-seater *curved dash* Oldsmobile was produced.

While more than willing to invest in Olds' engine ventures, Lansing businessmen were more skeptical about the success of the automobile. After consideration of several opportunities, Olds accepted an offer from Samuel L. Smith of Detroit. In August 1900, production moved to Jefferson Avenue in Detroit. In 1901, fire destroyed the Detroit factory of the Olds Motor Works. In order to entice R.E. Olds to move back to Lansing, the local business community

offered the auto manufacturer a valuable piece of property. Located just northwest of the River Point Neighborhood study area, on the north side of Grand River, on what was then the old fair grounds, this remains the site of Oldsmobile's principal assembly plant.

In late 1903, a disagreement between R.E. Olds and Samuel L. Smith, the majority stockholder in the Olds Motor Works, came to a head. Olds wanted to produce small affordable automobiles for the public and Smith and his supporters wanted to continue manufacturing expensive touring cars. When the Olds Motor Works Board of Directors met in January 1904, R.E. Olds, having been passed over for vice-president, resigned and sold his remaining shares in the company which he had founded.

Ransom Olds was not to remain idle long. In August 1904, Olds formed a new company, the R.E. Olds company, and announced that by January 1905, a new plant would be built in Lansing and that 1,000 men would be employed. True to his word, in September 1904, Olds began construction of a new plant in which to build his automobiles. Olds selected an undeveloped area along S. Washington Avenue, just south of the Grand Trunk and Western Railroad depot at South Street. By the end of 1904, Olds had three production buildings and an office completed. In October 1904, the first experimental Reo was completed, and by March of the following year, a new Reo was rolling off the assembly line every 40 minutes. By 1906, the company was producing 2,458 cars, and by 1907 production rose to about 4,000 cars. In 1907, an economic recession occurred, which caused the end of one of Lansing's oldest companies, the Bement Agricultural Implement Co. Olds purchased the company's assets, including the original factory on N. Grand Avenue, between Shiawassee and Ottawa streets, where he began truck production as the Reo Motor Truck Company.

During the first two decades of the 20th century, those communities that were most deeply involved in the burgeoning auto industry (e.g., Lansing, Flint, Detroit, Toledo) can best be viewed as *boom towns*. The near overnight emergence of dozens of large manufacturing plants, resulted in the redistribution of large sectors of the nation's labor force, with thousands of rural agricultural workers moving to the cities to take advantage of the demand for high-wage labor. In 1900, Lansing's overall population had numbered only 16,845. Within only ten years, it had nearly doubled, reaching 31,229 by 1910. By 1920, it had nearly double again, reaching 57,327, and by 1930 had reached 78,000.

As the population continued to grow, a serious housing shortage emerged. Previously undeveloped areas, especially those close to manufacturing plants or accessible via the streetcar, became prime real estate for housing development. With the opening of Reo's new S. Washington plant in 1904, the surrounding area, including the River Point Neighborhood, experienced tremendous growth and development, both in terms of its residential and commercial components. This period is marked by the replatting of many of the older, larger lots, in order to allow higher density residential development.

The redevelopment of the S. Washington Avenue frontage into a dedicated commercial district required several physical alterations, including the replatting of several of the blocks in order to allow lots to front on Washington, rather than the adjacent side streets. By 1906, Block 200 had been replatted, increasing the number of lots and orienting them to front on Washington Avenue and Lee [modern Grand] Street. A service alley separated the rear lines of the commercial lots from the residential lots fronting on Lee [modern Grand]. In 1904, a two-story brick commercial structure had been erected at the northeast corner of South Street and

Washington Avenue (1131-1149 S. Washington). According to the 1906 city directory, among the first occupants were F.J. Christopher, a grocer at 1149, and Dr. George Brett, who occupied the second floor. At 1147 was W.B. Fishbeck, who operated a dry goods store; at 1145 was a postal substation; and at 1143 was the Capitol Meat Market. Located next to the meat market at 1141 was the Reo Restaurant. No additional occupants were listed, suggesting that the block was not completed at that date or that portions of the building were vacant. Before 1916, the Chapman Brothers had opened a billiard parlor at 1131 S. Washington and 1133 was occupied by Orin Cook, who operated a grocery. At 1135, Electus J. Crawford was proprietor of a jewelry store, and Dan Hasbrouck operated a restaurant at 1137 S. Washington.

Between 1904 and 1913 this remained the only building on the east side of Washington Avenue between E. South and E. Elm. In 1913, the area along S. Washington to the north of Elm Street was still residential, with one and two-story frame dwellings predominating. The 1913 Sanborn Map shows frame dwellings along W. South Street, the south side of Cottage Avenue, and both sides of Gross Court.

Two brick hotels were also found along the west side of S. Washington, between South and Elm Streets. They included the Snug Hotel at the northwest corner of S. Washington and W. South (now the site of Ramon's at 1146) and the Hotel Schaey on the southwest corner of S. Washington and Gross Court (now the site of International Beauty Salon at 1132-1134). Located between the two hotels at 1142 was the Snug Lunch. These early hotels and restaurants provided meals, entertainment, and accommodations for passengers arriving via the Grand Trunk Railroad, and for workers at the Reo plant.

Along the west side of Washington Avenue, the frame building containing the Eureka Cigar Box Co. had been razed. Nearby, at 1118 S. Washington, the feed mill of William Peterson & Son had been built of sheet steel. Adjacent to the south at 1120 S. Washington was a recently erected frame harness shop (Sanborn 1906).

Other portions of the study area were also further subdivided during the first decade of the 20th century in order to more fully exploit the available real estate for the construction of housing units. Apparently the housing shortage reached such proportions that some men had to take to tents, and along E. Michigan, sleeping rooms were made out of former lumber sheds.

Between 1906-10, two narrow access streets, Gross Court and Cottage Avenue, were pushed west from Washington Avenue on Block 195 between Elm and South streets. George Gross, a real estate agent who resided at 1116 S. Washington, and William Schavey, sheriff of Clinton County, appear to have been the prime movers behind this development (*Lansing State Journal* 23 April 1910). An article in the *Lansing State Journal* of 23 April 1910 refers to the "Housing shortage in the south end" and states that "Contractor Neiler has in the course of construction 29 houses for renting purposes." The paper goes on to say that "William Schavey of Clinton County is erecting five comfortable and up to date dwelling houses on Gross Court. Fifty imploring women have applied for them, but the houses were rented to friends of the sheriff before the ground was broken for the cellars." This may have been a questionable business deal, but a search for any follow-up articles revealed no additional information. The hotel on the southeast corner of S. Washington and Cottage (1120 S. Washington) was named the Scha[v]ey Hotel. These two short cul-de-sacs provided access to the rear of the rather large lots fronting on Washington Avenue. By 1910, the south side of Cottage Avenue was completely developed with five 1½-story frame dwellings. Gross Court had two dwellings by 1910, and by

1913, six more had been erected. These frame structures ranged in size from 1½-story along the north side to two-stories along the south side (Sanborn 1906, 1913; Chilson, McKinley 1910; U.S. Census 1910).

Just before 1900, Block 204 was also replatted, increasing the number of residential lots from 12 to 32, with additional access provided by Clear Street, which runs north and south between Hazel and Elm. As the name would suggest, this subdivision was likely instituted by the Clear family, who were long-term residents of the area. The older residence at 200 Elm was accommodated by this subdivision, and by 1900, at least three frame houses had been erected along the east side of Lee [modern Grand], between Hazel and Elm. Clear Street first appears as a distinct thoroughfare in the city directory for 1913 (Chilson McKinley 1913). The four frame houses on that street were occupied by families in which the men worked at the Reo Motor Co., and this configuration compares favorably with the Sanborn (1913) insurance atlas for that year.

Elsewhere in the study area the original 1847 plat was maintained, although once again, the large lots of that plan were often further divided in order to accommodate the erection of additional structures. By 1910-13, Hazel, Elm, and South streets, and S. Washington Avenue between Hazel and Elm, were nearly fully lined with residential structures. Two-story frame houses predominated. Often these had one-story additions to the side, rear or both. A mere half dozen of the residences were built of or faced with common brick.

In 1910, the Washington Avenue commercial district, still restricted to the portion between Elm and South, remained in nascent development. The Michigan United Railway barns were located on the west side south of Elm, at 1110-12 S. Washington Avenue. This building had been erected prior to 1898 for the Lansing City Electric Railway Co. By 1906, the interurban had become the Lansing Suburban Traction Co. The railway company vacated the barn by 1913. Adjacent to the north of the car barns at 1108 S. Washington was the brick-built railway office, apparently also occupied by one of the workers, Benjamin Crissey. Between 1910-13, the three-story Hotel Schaeey had been erected at the southwest corner of S. Washington and Cottage avenues (1120 S. Washington). The third floor of the structure remained unfinished in the latter year (Sanborn-Perris 1898; Sanborn 1906, 1913).

At the northwest corner of S. Washington and Cottage Avenue, the blacksmith shop of Frank Collier and the Peterson feed mill persisted. South of Cottage Avenue, along the west side of Washington, were two frame working class dwellings separated by the boot and shoe store and repair shop of Joseph H. Taylor. This two-story building also accommodated at least 18 boarders, almost exclusively men employed by auto factories. At 1140 S. Washington was the home of the carpenter, Samuel Bentley and his wife. The elderly couple supported two grandsons and rented rooms to three other boarders. At 1142 and 1144 S. Washington Avenue were one-story frame storefronts containing a barbershop and fruit market, respectively. By 1910, the brick building at the northwest corner of S. Washington and South (1146 [formerly 1130] S. Washington, had been converted from use as a grocery store to the Snug Hotel and Restaurant. In that year, the building housed some 22 men between the ages of 16 and 51, all employed in some capacity in the auto plants.

Development on the east side of S. Washington continued to be anchored by the two-story brick commercial building at the northeast corner with South Street. Between 1906-1913, four additional stores had been added to the original complement of five, to create a bank of nine

mercantile storefronts. Several of these units also housed factory workers on the upper floor. The composition of the business and service community in this complex can be reconstructed from the city directory for that year (Chilson, McKinley 1910):

S. Washington Ave.

1137-39	Winton B. Fishbeck, dealer in general merchandise, residence 1018 S. Washington
1139½	Dr. Earl J. McIntyre, physician and surgeon, residence same Alfred McIntyre, works Reo Motor Car Co.
1141	Johnston & Hamilton, barbers
1143	Capitol Meat Market, Smith & Skinn, proprietors
1145	Campbell & Darling, drugs and druggist sundries
1145	Sub Postal Station, No. 3
1147	Vacant store
1147½	Dr. Frank D. French, physician, residence same
1149	Orrin L. Perry, cleaning and pressing, residence 1126 Lee [modern Grand]
1149	Frank J. Christopher, grocery, alderman 6th ward, residence 124 Island Avenue
1149½	Dr. Homer E. Gordon, physician and surgeon, residence same

The remainder of this block facing S. Washington Avenue remained unimproved in 1913. One other commercial establishment of note was the Clear-Bauer Ice Co. warehouse, forge and wagon shed on the east side of Lee [modern Grand], on the south bank of the Grand River. In addition to selling ice, this concern also operated a dray line. Several local residents were employed by this company as teamsters.

The next significant area to be developed was the 1200 Block of S. Washington, between South and the Grand Trunk railroad. In 1916, a two-story brick commercial block was built on the west side of S. Washington at 1202-1210. This block consisted of small retail stores. By 1926, the block was still principally small retail establishments. The block remained unchanged until 1928, when a new bank building was constructed at 1200 S. Washington. Before 1916, the Exchange Company Bank occupied the property; in 1926 it was occupied by the American State Savings Bank. which still occupied the bank in 1946.

By 1913, the area south of the confluence of the Grand and Red Cedar rivers and north of South Street contained a minimum of 117 residential house structures. In addition, many of the commercial buildings in the study area included residential quarters for additional local inhabitants. These lodgings accommodated over 550 residents by 1910, a dramatic increase from 1900 of over 270%. A demographic profile of the population in 1910 exhibits the typical characteristics of a boom town, and is clearly indicative of the role of the manufacturing industry's demand for factory labor. Males significantly outnumbered females at a rate of 639 per 1000 individuals. Furthermore, men between the ages of 16-35 comprised nearly 40% of the population. Among both males and females, children under the age of fifteen were significantly underrepresented. Only 17% of the local inhabitants were between the ages of 0-15, whereas 44% were between the ages of 16-30. The transient nature of the population was illustrated by the fact that the ages of eight men were unknown. Many households provided accommodations for boarders or roomers and several extended families were reported.

According to the 1910 census records, the River Point Neighborhood was then overwhelmingly native-born and Anglo-American in ethnicity. Over 87% of the residents had been born in the United States. This ratio is not anomalous and closely mirrors figures returned by the state

census in 1904. In that year, enumerators reported that the 6th Ward of Lansing was 84% native-born, the city as a whole 86%, and Ingham County 89%. In general during this period, the percentage of foreign-born increased from south to north in the state. Seven out of ten of the local inhabitants of the study area had been born in Michigan. Among the remaining native-born residents proximity was a strong determinant of origin. In decreasing order the remaining native-born derived from Ohio (11%), New York (5%), Indiana (3%), and Pennsylvania (2%). A smattering of American-born immigrants derived from Massachusetts, Arkansas, Wisconsin, Iowa, New Jersey, North Dakota, Kansas, Virginia, West Virginia, and even Montana and Oregon.

Analysis of the parental nativity of the residents does little to dispel the homogeneity of the American-born population. In the ascending generation, 75% of both the mothers and fathers of the inhabitants had been born in the United States, representing a slightly greater incidence of foreign birth among the parental population. An individual's mother was somewhat more likely to have been born in Michigan, indicating an historical trend for greater geographical mobility among males. Natal origins of the parental generation reflect older internal national migration trends for the state. Known paternal and maternal nativity of the American-born segment may be outlined as follows

Origin	Paternal Nativity	Maternal Nativity
Michigan	38%	47%
New York	24%	17%
Ohio	18%	15%
Indiana	6%	5%
Pennsylvania	5%	5%
Other	9%	11%

The ethnicity of the native-born population was further reinforced by the nature of the foreign-born immigrants. Fully, 71% of the foreign element derived from Anglo-Canada (47%) and Great Britain, including Ireland (24%). Rather unusual for the state, none of the Canadian immigrants were reported to be French-speaking. Germans formed the bulk of the remaining foreign immigrants to the neighborhood, comprising 16% of the total foreign-born. For Ingham County as a whole, foreign-born English speakers and Germans existed in nearly equal proportions. The remaining 13% of the foreign-born element in the study area in 1910 derived from Holland, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Italy (U.S. Census 1910; Prescott 1906).

Among the 353 males resident in the River Point Neighborhood enumerated in the 1910 census, 276 reported their occupation. Another seven men were retired or subsisted upon their own income. Indicative of the dramatic economic transformation during the decade, over 80% of the men in the area labored in industrial situations, including factories, auto plants, foundries, engine works, and machine shops. Suggestive of the still nascent development of the auto industry, less than 40% of these reported employment in auto plants. It is certainly probable that the census enumerators underreported the number of workers employed at auto factories. Three out of four of all factory workers identified their occupation as either machinist or laborer, about equally divided between the two. Other industrial occupations reported included, mechanic, painter, trimmer, brass worker, chauffeur, electrician, solderer, plater, polisher, tinsmith, wheelmaker, draftsman, tester, varnish rubber, cabinet maker, clerk, and police special.

While the census does not provide specific information as to the exact workplace of enumerated persons, the 1910 Lansing city directory does provide useful data about employment places, despite its less than comprehensive coverage of individuals. Among all autoworkers reported in that source, nearly 75% labored at the Reo Motor Car Co., which was located on S. Washington Avenue, just south of the River Point Neighborhood and the C>RR. The remainder were employed at the Olds Motor Vehicle Co., located north and northwest of the study area on the north bank of the Grand River. Nearly as many factory workers as reported for Olds were described as working at Seager Engine Works (415 Robert Street), which was formed in 1908 and was closely affiliated with Olds. Seager produced gasoline-driven engines and motors. Still important as a local employer and reflective of an earlier era was Hugh Lyons & Co. This firm, incorporated in 1894, manufactured showcases, fixtures and furniture for retail stores. It subsequently acquired an established furniture factory at 700 E. South Street. About this time (c. 1910), the company branched into the production of auto bodies (Turner 1924:340, 356-57). Other local industries employing neighborhood residents included:

Auto Body Co., 207 E. Franklin, manufacturers, auto bodies, sleighs, buggy parts
Bates-Edmunds Motor Co., 238 Mill Street, manufactures of internal combustion engines
Capitol Casting Co., 712 E. Kalamazoo, manufacturers gray iron castings
Gerson-Carey Co., 411 E. Kalamazoo, brass foundry and machine shop, wood and metal patterns, tubular well valves and fittings
Prudden Wheel Co., 701 May, manufacturers auto wheels

Six other skilled tradesmen worked alone or in a municipal setting. As reported in the 1910 census, the remaining males employed in real numbers were distributed as follows:

Medical: doctor, dentist, pharmacist, drug salesman (6)
Meat: meat cutter, meat dealer, cattle buyer, laborer (6)
Printing and publishing: foreman, manager, printer, pressman, German-language linotyper (6)
Construction trades: carpenter, roofer, painter, paperhanger (9)
Barbershop: owner, barber (4)
Restaurant: proprietor, cook (3)
Shoemaking, sales and repair: proprietor, cobbler (3)
Agriculture: farmer, farm laborer (3)
Baker (2)
Policeman, patrolman (2)
Entertainment: trap drummer musician, actor in theater (2)

The 1910 Lansing city directory mirrors this distribution and supplements it with additional locational information. Among working-age women enumerated in the 1910 census and living within the study area, 20% or 31 of 155 over the age of 15 reported occupational or independent sources of income. For the most part, these data reflect the limited opportunities for women during this era. Indicating future trends, however, one woman was employed as a laborer in a machine shop. Occupations were distributed as follows:

Sales: saleslady, cashier, (6)
Clerical: stenographer, bookkeeper, clerk, tel. operator, (6)
Own income: (6)
Dressmaking: shop (1), home (3)
Restaurant: cook, waitress, cashier (3)

Boardinghouse: (2)
Teacher: school, music (2)
Miscellaneous: nurse, machine shop laborer (2)

During the decade between 1910-1920, structural development of the River Point Neighborhood continued, but at a somewhat slower pace than earlier. During this period, two trends can be discerned. Additional new construction was completed in the residential sections east of Washington Avenue, and behind the commercial frontage of the west side of Washington Avenue. The erection of additional new and replacement commercial buildings on Washington Avenue characterized the second trend.

A few distinct exceptions may be mentioned where large portions of vacant land remained. Most of the land along the south bank of the Grand River remained unimproved, perhaps because of its lower accessibility and poorly drained conditions. Several lots on the west side of Clear Street to the south the intersection with Hazel also awaited residential construction. The south side of Elm to the east of Lee [modern Grand] also afforded additional construction sites. Lots 36-39 of Sparrow's Subdivision of Block 200, on the east side of Washington Avenue between Elm and Gross Court, retained conspicuous possibilities. Not until the 1940s was a bowling alley built on this site.

Notable additions and changes to the Washington Avenue strip included the following. According to the 1920 census returns, the Francis Apartments had been recently erected on the east side of S. Washington, north of Hazel. A brick storefront at 1103-1105 S. Washington, on the east side just south of Elm had been recently built and contained the Giles Tire Service and the Coscarelli fruit market. The former street railway office at 1108 S. Washington had been converted for use as candy and soft drink retail store. The old car barns at 1110 S. Washington had been converted or rebuilt for use by Truxell Sales Co., a Chevrolet and Liberty auto dealership. Adjacent to the south at 1114-16 S. Washington, a new masonry structure had replaced an older frame dwelling and garage. This structure incorporated or surrounded an older building occupied by the Rouser Tire Repair Co. The newer and larger portion housed the South Lansing Garage, auto repair and accessory retailers. The company was also agent for Dort and Jordan cars.

Further south on the west side of S. Washington, the hotel at 1118-20 had become the Reo Grand. It also contained the Reo Grand Billiard Room and the Reo Grand Restaurant. New occupants of the aging storefronts on the west side of Washington between the Reo Grand Hotel and South Street included:

1132	Joseph F. Piper, shoe repairing
1136	O.A. Cook & Son, shoes, men's furnishings, hosiery
1142	Parmater & Cook, second hand goods
1144	Norman E. Capen, barbershop
1146	Cozy Restaurant, P.H. Demos and Gus Bacaros, proprietors

Several additions were also made to the block of anchor stores on the east side of S. Washington, north of South Street. Businesses at 1127-1135 S. Washington occupied new structures by 1920. The composition of this commercial district may be outlined as follows:

1127	Earle L. Rann, dry goods, ladies and gentlemen's furnishings, ladies ready-to wear
1129	Frank T. Treadwell & Son, South Side Shoe Store, fine footwear and repairing South Side Jewelry Co., out of business
1130	Hill & Van Buren, meats and groceries
1133	South Lansing Hardware Co., general hardware and mechanics tools
1135	Little Coney Restaurant, specializing in Coney Island lunches Chargold Stores Co. E.J. Crawford, jewelry
1137	Walter Chevelier, bakery
1139	Floyd B. Swanson, men's furnishings
1141	George W. Hamilton, barbershop
1143	Capitol Meat Market, meats and groceries
1145	Campbell & Darling, drugs, druggist supplies, paints, oils, varnishes
1146	DeRose Brothers, fruits
1149	Kirk B. VanWinkle, groceries
1149½	Dr. Samuel Bernstein, physician and surgeon

As before, the upper floors of these stores were leased to boarders and renters. By 1920, the S. Washington Avenue commercial district spilled over onto South Street. A restaurant and a plumbing and heating business were located on the north side of South Street, just east of that intersection.

Between 1910-20, the resident population of the River Point Neighborhood increased by over 60%, from 552 to 896. The demographic characteristics closely reflected the 1910 composition, although the sex ratio more closely approached normal. Men continued to outnumber women at a rate of 559 per 1000 population. The overall percentage of males between the ages of 16-35 in the population had decreased from 38% to 28%, but the percentage of older male workers aged 46-60 had nearly doubled, probably through both aging and in-migration. Males aged 46-50 comprised the third largest cohort among men and the fourth largest in the population. Women in the 21-25 age cohort greatly skewed the female profile. Children 15 and under continued to be underrepresented and their percentage distribution was not markedly different from 1910. The number of households containing extended families increased during the decade. Many others supplemented their income by renting to adult boarders or roomers.

The ethnic homogeneity of the local Anglo-American population had been further reinforced by 1920. Nearly 90% of the residents had been born in the United States. Of those, 75% had been born in Michigan. In the remaining native-born segment, 8% were born in Ohio, 3% each in New York and Indiana, and the remainder originated from 23 other states, from as far afield as Maine, Texas and California.

Half of the foreign-born component (47/93) had emigrated from Canada and another 18% had been born in Great Britain. Germans and ethnic Germans from Hungary comprised an additional 10% of the foreign element in the area. Other immigrants originated from Italy, Russia, Poland, Denmark, Sweden and Finland. Indicative of contemporary trends in American immigration were recent migrants from Greece, Syria and Turkey. At least one restaurant on S. Washington Avenue was operated by Greeks. Italians dominated the produce trade in the area. Dr. Samuel Bernstein was a Russian-born Yiddish-speaking physician (U.S. Census 1920).

The 1920 census documents the rapid transition to industrialization, and in particular the domination of the automobile industry in south Lansing in that period. Over 60% of men in the

study area reporting an occupation that year were employed in the auto industry. More than half of these autoworkers identified themselves as either a laborer or machinist. The occupations of all residents listed for the area in the 1920 city directory were totaled and the distribution compliments that derived from the census. In the directory sample, 84% of the autoworkers labored at the Reo plant, located just south of the River Point Neighborhood. Most of the others worked at the Olds plant on the west side of the Grand River. A couple of the men worked at the Duplex Truck plant.

Another 9% of the local male residents worked in other industrial occupations. Probably at least half of these worked for companies which were subsidiaries of or sources for the auto industry, including foundries, engine works, drop forges, and pressed steel, screw, and truck factories. Among companies identified as employers of neighborhood men in the 1920 directory were Gier Pressed Steel, Prudden Wheel, Atlas Drop Forge, Lansing Drop Forge, Michigan Crankshaft, Lansing Foundry, Standard Casting, and Jarvis Engine and Machine Works (Chilson, McKinley 1920).

The remaining 30% of the men resident in the community worked in non-industrial jobs; four retirees have been excluded from the study. Again the directory sample mirrors the census sample, but the former distribution is presented here as being more complete. In this segment 32% worked in commercial sales and servicing of provisions and dry goods, and 39% were employed in the construction and transportation trades and as common laborers. White collar and municipal occupations comprised the remainder (29%).

The percentage of women over the age of 15 holding income-producing positions increased from 20% to 27% during the decade. Furthermore, in the intervening decade, significant changes had occurred in the distribution of these jobs. Over one-third of the women (35%) remained in clerical and sales positions, but the former predominated by far among those. More noteworthy was the employment of significant numbers of women in the auto industry. While perhaps nearly half of these occupied traditional positions such as clerk, stenographer, and timekeeper, the remainder were employed on the production line. Many worked in the upholstery department as trimmers and seamstresses, but at least a few operated machines and performed inspections. Other women worked in the following economic sectors, food preparation and service (10%), servant/housekeeper/nurse (8%), education (8%), dressmaking (6%), landlady (5%), farm laborer (1%).

The economic stimulus provided by the industrialization of south Lansing was reflected by the growth and redevelopment of S. Washington Avenue during the decade of 1920-30. The large multi-story Washington Apartments at the northeast corner of Washington and Hazel was built in 1922-23 and added to the residential inventory of the neighborhood. This building seems to have particularly catered to single or widowed women (Sanborn 1913-51; Chilson, McKinley 1923). By 1930, the four-address storefront at 1000-1006 S. Washington (southwest corner with Hazel) had been erected and contained a biscuit manufacturer and an oil burner company. As was typical for the commercial district, living quarters were installed on the upper floor of the building. Adjacent to the south, and perhaps recently completed, was a second and larger structure (1008-1010 S. Washington), which remained vacant. All of these buildings replaced older frame residences. Also by 1930, a gas station occupied the southeast corner of S. Washington and Hazel. Further south on the east side at 1021-31 S. Washington was the Miller Chevrolet sales and garage. A two-story frame residence at 1119 S. Washington had been converted to a five-unit apartment building in response to the increased demand for housing.

In 1930, the older, more established commercial district of S. Washington between Elm and South streets retained much of its traditional mix of offices, repair shops, restaurants, pharmacies, groceries, and hardware and dry goods stores. New among the businesses in this sector was a Standard Oil Co. gasoline station located at the southwest corner of S. Washington and Elm. A frame dwelling and the old brick railway office had been razed to accommodate this new enterprise (Sanborn 1913-1951; McKinley Reynolds 1930). The Mediterranean Revival / Spanish Colonial building is a single-story with glazed brick walls and curving parapets between sections of Spanish clay-tiled mansard roofs. A garage wing is located to the side with three overhead doors. The service and sales areas are lit by large aluminum and glass storefront windows. A tapering chimney rises at the rear. This station is unique for its high integrity and outstanding level of detail.

In 1938, two additional brick commercial buildings were constructed at 1212 and 1214 S. Washington. The building at 1212 was originally occupied by the Quality Awning Company. In 1946 the building was listed as vacant. In 1946, 1214 was occupied by the Armour Meat Company. Today both are occupied by Popoff Meat Company.

A broadening of the occupational base by 1930 has been suggested, although reliance solely upon city directories is problematic, because of the notorious underreporting of residents, particularly in the apartments of the commercial district. A random sample of roughly 100 residents in 1930 fits with the rapid decline in the dominance of autoworkers in the neighborhood previously reported (City of Lansing 1998:142). At that time, 37% of men were employed in vehicle manufacturing, as compared to 56% in 1926, and 31% in 1935. These workers were nearly evenly divided between the Reo and Olds plants (18% and 13%, respectively), illustrating the ongoing decline of the former company. One individual worked for Durant. Another 12% of the males in the area worked for auto suppliers such as Motor Wheel Co. and Fisher Body. A few other workers continued to labor for other industrial concerns, including Federal Forge, Melling Forge, and Hugh Lyons. The distribution of women's occupations remained much the same as 1920.

This dramatic change in employment can be attributed in major part to the nationwide depression following the collapse of the stock market in 1929. The failure of the market was to create difficulties for many automobile manufacturers, both large and small alike. The larger firms, such as Ford, General Motors and Chrysler, with substantial reserves, could weather the storm, while many smaller firms, such as Durant and Peerless, were forced to declare bankruptcy. By 1935, the Reo Motor Car Co. was on the verge of bankruptcy. To save the company, Reo ceased production of its passenger cars and concentrated on the manufacturing of trucks. This move to save the company also left many of its workers, who lived in the River Point Neighborhood, out of work.

In spite of a national depression, the commercial and residential mix along the S. Washington Avenue strip remained remarkably stable throughout the decade of the 1930s (Lansing Directory Publishers 1940). Few, if any, commercial structures were added, although some changes in business occupants were noted. This stability largely extended to the ethnic and occupational distribution of the residential population. Two major differences may be noted. Most of the autoworkers were now employed by Olds, reflecting the precipitous demise of the Reo Company. Secondly, there was an increase in state and federally supported jobs as governments responded to the economic crisis. The onset of increased production in relation to WWII further ensured the continued economic viability of this working class neighborhood.

While WWII effectively ended the Great Depression, and put every available person back to work, the post-war period saw another general decline in Lansing's industrial base. According to analysis of the city directories, at least 31% of the River Point Neighborhood residents were employed by Oldsmobile in 1946, 13% worked for the city, and fully 38% were recorded as either widowed, vacant properties, or had no occupation listed. The remaining 18% worked in skilled and semiskilled occupations.

In the 60 years that have elapsed since the 1940 Lansing directory was published, it can be assumed that the economic fortunes of the River Point Neighborhood have advanced and declined in concert with the national, regional, and local economies. However, despite the Lansing area's reliance on the automobile industry as a major job source, the community has not appeared to suffer the major declines that were documented for neighboring communities with similar economic histories (e.g., Flint, Saginaw, Detroit). To this day, the neighborhood remains largely as built, a discrete area of modest, frame, single-family and duplex residences, bordered on the west by the Washington Avenue commercial strip. In 1994, 38% of the properties were listed as *not verified*, 23% had no occupation listed, 15% were skilled workers and the remaining 24% were retired or unskilled labor. No one in the random survey was employed by the automobile industry.

Summary

Based on the documentation provided above, it can be determined that the River Point Neighborhood was founded in the latter decades of the 19th century as an urban neighborhood of predominantly single-family homes, catering to the working classes employed in the local commercial and industrial concerns. Based on the known or postulated construction dates of the surviving structures, it can be determined that more than 95% of the original building cycle structures were constructed between 1880-1930, and that more than 75% of those original building cycle structures were constructed between 1890-1920. It should be noted that these dates correspond very well to the transition to and rise of the automobile industry as one of Lansing's principal economic engines.

Recommendations

While significant individuals and events are not readily apparent within the River Point Neighborhood, both its former and current residents have provided and continue to provide the grist that fuels Lansing's industrial base. In that sense, the River Point Neighborhood, as well as many other comparable neighborhoods, can be conceptualized as both a necessary precursor to and a product of Lansing's early twentieth century industrial expansion. As such, it would appear that the River Point Neighborhood *is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the patterns of our history*, at the local, regional and national levels, and would thus be eligible for nomination as a NRHP Historic District.

3.3 Context Statement – Architecture

Region: City of Lansing
Period: c. 1880 – 2000
Sub-themes: Residential Architecture, Commercial Architecture

Residential Architecture

Quoting Robert O. Christensen:

“The streets to the east of S. Washington comprise the bulk of the River Point Neighborhood, although several residential structures are to be found to the west of S. Washington. The River Point Neighborhood is characterized by narrow streets and, except to the north of Hazel, small lot sizes. Houses stand close by one another and close to the street. Far from being a drawback, these factors, along with the abundant shade from the large trees, give the neighborhood an intimate scale that is one of its most appealing features.”

Of the 95 residential structures for which approximate construction dates could be determined, 1 (1%) were constructed before 1880, 8 (8%) were constructed between 1880-89, 19 (20%) were constructed between 1890-99, 34 (36%) were constructed between 1900-09, 25 (26%) were constructed between 1910-19, and only 8 (8%) were constructed between 1920-29. None were recorded as having been constructed after 1930.

Given its predominantly working class origins, it is not surprising to note that there are none of the larger and more elaborately detailed homes found in some other Lansing neighborhoods. The houses are generally simple and of modest scale. The oldest structure in the neighborhood, probably pre-dating 1874, may be a heavily modified *Greek Revival* example (118 E. Hazel), although that attribution is highly speculative.

Many later 19th and early 20th century houses used simple detailing that reflects no single particular architectural style, but rather embellished simple and economical *Late Victorian* forms with fashionable trim. While these so-called *Folk Victorian* variants were probably quite common within the River Point Neighborhood during the early decades of the 20th century, more recent modifications to the structures, including replacement siding, windows, and porches, have probably removed many of these formerly distinctive trim details. A total of 53 (53%) of the 99 residential structures within the River Point Neighborhood have been classified as Late Victorian.

The most common of the generalized Late Victorian forms within the River Point Neighborhood are the *Gable Front* examples, which also represent the majority (n=38 [38%]) of the documented residences. With construction dates ranging from the 1880s through at least the 1910s, gable fronts are typically represented by narrow, one, 1½, and two-story homes of wood frame construction. A highly typical and well preserved example of the plain form is the c. 1912 two-story residence at 1028 Clear. Details include a front façade that includes a single, centered second-story window, and a paired first-floor entry door and window within a full-width single-story front porch. Side windows are also symmetrically arranged. Another, larger example would include the well preserved residence at 1005 S. Washington. Several

other gable fronts, such as those at 215 E. Hazel and 1134 Platt, are buildings where the entrance stands at the back of a shed-roof side porch.

Another 15 of the Late Victorian structures within the River Point Neighborhood are represented by one, 1½, and two-storied *Cross Gable* or *Gable Front and Wing* examples (15%) , including several relatively substantial homes from the 1880s and 1890s. Well preserved, typical cross gable variants are the two-story homes at 1003 and 1030 Clear, and at 1134 S. Grand. More elaborated examples would include the small brick residence at 1135 S. Grand, and the relatively large brick example at 1145 S. Grand.

Side Gable variants of the basic Late Victorian structure are limited to two possible examples (2%). Perhaps the best example is represented by the c. 1890 *Gothic*-inspired example at 1128 S. Grand, where the Gothic inspiration is manifest by the steeply peaked dormer centered on the second-floor front windows. A less convincing example would include the c. 1890 two-story residence at 1017 S. Grand, which could equally as well be referred to as an early *Foursquare*.

In addition to the plain structures, several gable front structures of clear Late Victorian derivation include recognizable formal architectural elements (3%). Good examples of such structures would include the c. 1890 two-story *Italianate*-influenced residence at 1019 Clear; the c. 1916 *Colonial Revival* structure at 1109/11 S. Grand; and the c. 1914 *Classical Revival*-influenced structure at 112 E. Elm. A gable front, Colonial-influenced house at 222 Elm stands out among the neighborhood's dwellings because of its tripartite, arched-center, Palladian window in the front gable.

Although Late Victorian homes often include Classical and Colonial motifs, the *Dutch Colonial Revival* style represents a distinctive and often far more elaborated architectural form, primarily constructed during the early decades of the twentieth century. With its characteristic gambrel roof, four examples (4%) are represented within the River Point Neighborhood. Particularly good examples include a side gable variant at 223 E. Elm, and a cross gable variant at 129 E. Elm. Note that the latter example also includes the commonly used asymmetrical combination of a gambrel front gable with a Classical side gable.

Twenty-eight of the residences (28%) have been classified as representing the *Bungalow / Arts-and-Crafts* movement, all dating from the period c. 1900-1930. Examples include both gable front (n=24 [24%]) and side gable (n=4 [4%]) specimens. Gable fronts are typically one or 1½-story frame homes of very simple design, with low pitched roofs, and often with full width, covered front porches. While many of these are quite similar to Late Victorian forms, they are typically distinguished by their broader and squatter perspective, with full two story examples being the exception rather than the rule. Good examples of this type of home would be the one-story at 1006 Clear and the 1½-story at 1008 Clear. More typical of the *Arts and Crafts / Bungalow* movement is the side gable structure at 1140 S. Grand. With its exposed rafter ends below the broadly projecting roofs, door and window trim with elongated lintels and slanting sides, and larger second-story dormer windows.

The next most common basic structure type, with an apparent construction range dating from the 1890s through the 1920s, are the neighborhood's two-story square-plan residences, commonly referred to as *Foursquares*. There are at least 7 (7%) of these hipped roof structures present, including an unusual, side-by-side duplex with strong Arts-and-Crafts or

Prairie influence at 120-122 S. Elm. More typical examples include the c. 1916 two-story example at 221 E. South, with its front-facing attic dormer, full width front porch, and symmetrically arranged windows.

The neighborhood's only church stands at the south end of the area, at 213 E. South, between S. Grand and Platt. It is a cross gable, early 20th century, auditorium-type church building, with a square-plan tower near the façade's midpoint. Simple bargeboards mark the eaves.

Although it can be concluded that many of the residences within the River Point Neighborhood were constructed speculatively, using very similar plans, we would generally disagree with the previous characterization of the neighborhood as having "many speculative identical houses" (City of Lansing 1998:19). Such a characterization would imply block after block, or street after street of nearly identical working class housing, akin to a modern lower income subdivision. This is simply not the case. As documented above, the neighborhood consists of an eclectic mix of nearly 100 residences, ranging in age from the 1860s through the 1920s, representing a wide variety of the housing styles and types that would have been available to the working class during the relevant period.

Commercial Architecture

As noted above, the commercial development of River Point Neighborhood is anchored by the S. Washington Avenue corridor, which is in turn connected to the larger community by the bridge over the Grand River on the north, and the railroad tracks on the south. As noted by Robert O. Christensen, NRHP Coordinator for the Michigan Historical Center, "... the S. Washington corridor within the River Point Neighborhood possesses strong visual interest, based on the variety of older buildings that are present within this relatively small space." As would be expected, surviving structures include examples of many of the architectural styles that were prevalent during the period c. 1900-1940.

The earliest surviving building is the Grand Trunk Western RR Station at 1203 S. Washington, which effectively predates the commercial development of this portion of the S. Washington corridor. Erected in 1902-03, it is a one-story rectangular red-brick building, resting on a finished gray ashlar foundation, and is an example of *Jacobethan Revival* style architecture. The station's main entrance is housed in a two-story square brick tower topped by a battlemented parapet. The building has red tiled roofs, overhanging eaves and smooth-faced, Bedford limestone, Tudor-inspired door and window hoods, sills, facings, and gable copings. A covered waiting platform stands at the eastern end of the station with a gable roof supported by wooden posts with triangle bracket capitals. The interior has been converted to a restaurant, although it is currently vacant; the exterior remains largely intact. This structure is the only building within the River Point Neighborhood to have already been placed on the NRHP.

Next oldest in age, and certainly most typical of the buildings within the River Point Neighborhood survey area are the several *Commercial Brick* blocks. All of these buildings were originally designed as dual-purpose structures, with storefronts on the first floors, and residential apartments on the upper floors. It was formerly common for the store owners or proprietors to live above their commercial properties. Like Commercial Brick buildings elsewhere in Lansing, the S. Washington examples exhibit considerable variety in brick hues and textures.

The oldest of these is the nine bay brick block that occupies the northeast corner of S. Washington and South (1133-1149 S. Washington). Constructed in at least two stages between 1906-1910, these are typical of the extremely simple and essentially unadorned commercial structures that were constructed throughout Lansing during the early twentieth century. Façade decoration is limited to recessed panels of brickwork above the tops of the upper story windows, surmounted by a corbelled cornice. The c. 1918 four bay brick block at 1000-1006 S. Washington displays the most intricate brickwork paneling of any of the area's numerous examples. Alternative panels of horizontal stretcher bricks and diagonal stretchers flanking central lozenge ornaments – the panels outlined by bands of headers with square blocks at the comers – stretch across the façade at frieze level. The c. 1916 five bay storefront at 1202-1210 S. Washington displays a robust Commercial Brick corbelled cornice in which projecting stretchers alternate with recessed headers. In the alternating tiers of projecting and recessed corbelled brickwork, the recessed tiers begin one course above the projecting ones. This results, when sunlight falls on the façade, in a checkerboard-like appearance. Other Commercial Brick examples include the c. 1925 yellow brick buildings at 1114-1116 S. Washington and 1101 S. Washington, and the c. 1923 polychrome structure at 1103-1105 S. Washington. In the latter example, the pilasters of the bays and cornice are constructed in red brick, and the recessed fields between the pilasters are of yellow brick. The only intact three story brick building within the neighborhood is the c. 1911-1913 Shaey Hotel, currently occupied by the Lansing Electric Supply Co. (1118-1121 S. Washington). All of the above described buildings have been variously modified over the years, with new storefronts, replacement windows, and/or hanging façades, but all represent relatively intact buildings that could be returned to more sympathetic views.

In addition to the Commercial Brick structures, one of the other signature properties of the area is the c. 1911-13, limestone-clad *Beaux Arts* or *Neoclassical* bank building at 1200 S. Washington. Although the original glass and frames have been replaced within the broad arched windows, the bank exterior is remarkably intact, and represents a good example of this once common building type.

While the various brick storefronts and the limestone bank building best characterize the neighborhood's ca. 1910-1925 commercial flavor, several other buildings, constructed as secondary or infill structures, help extend the architectural visage through the 1920s and on into the early 1940s. The first of these would probably be former Standard Oil Co. gas station on the southwest corner of Hazel and S. Washington (now *Grand Auto*). Constructed in the late 1920s, clad in white brick, with a red tile pent roof and stepped and pointed gables, reflects an locally exotic *Spanish Mediterranean/Spanish Mission* theme. Built to a standardized company plan, and once common throughout the nation, this now rare, well preserved and highly intact example would probably prove eligible to the NRHP on its own architectural merits.

One of the more interesting buildings within the neighborhood, at least in terms of its overall rarity in Lansing, is the small retail store at 1136 S. Washington. Constructed c. 1936 as a two bay storefront, this diminutive example of the *Art Deco* movement with its limestone facing, stepped gable, metal banding, and octagonal shop windows, would also likely prove eligible to the NRHP on its own architectural merits. It is interesting to note that despite its rather high style, its original tenants were somewhat less conspicuous, being a barber shop and a shoe repair shop.

Another building, more of a curiosity than an architectural gem, is the tiny, one-story frame restaurant tucked in between the brick block at 1105 S. Washington and the Cosmic Lanes bowling alley. Currently called *Ma Kittle's Restaurant*, this appears to represent what was originally known as *Wimpy's No. 2*, a hamburger *joint* that was probably constructed during the late 1930s.

Probably the last pre-1950 storefront to be added to the existing streetscape is what is today known as the *Cosmic Lanes* bowling alley at 1111-1119 S. Washington. Originally constructed between 1941-1945, it is not apparent whether the *Lansing Recreation Center* represented new construction or simply the remodeling of an older structure. With its broad, enameled metal-panel façade displaying figures in the act of bowling, its horizontal canopied entrance, and glass block windows, it is a notable and well preserved example of the *Moderne* movement.

In addition to the commercial structures fronting on S. Washington, there are several other structures that add significant texture to the pre-1950 streetscape. The first, and largest of these is the 1922 *Washington Apartments*, located just south of the Grand River at 927 S. Washington. Along with *The Porter*, located on Townsend at Lenawee, the massive red brick, Washington Arms is probably the largest early 20th century apartment building in a city which until well into the 20th century was almost exclusively a community of single-family homes, with only a relatively small number of two-family and townhouse buildings.

In addition to the S. Washington frontage, several commercial buildings also front on South Street, of which, two are particularly notable. The most notable of these, and according to Robert O. Christensen, "really one of the outstanding buildings of the neighborhood," is located at 117 W. South. Constructed c. 1924, it appears to have been purpose-built as the *South Lansing Rest House*, although little else is known of its original function. It continued to function under this appellation until at least 1940. By 1945 it was listed as the *South Lansing Community Center*, and by 1950 had added an additional tenant, the *Spiritualist Church*. This two-story symmetrical-front building sports an *Arts-and-Crafts* façade of brick of various hues, from red-orange to brown, that is divided into three vertical bays by boldly projecting piers, the central ones rising well above the tiled pent roofs that top each bay. The central bay's entry, and broad windows in either side bay, set within segmental arches and panels of header brick outlined by stretcher brick (itself a reversal of the typical panel treatment), separate the first-floor openings from those above.

Next door, at 121 W. South, is another pent-roof building, in this instance a one-story commercial building with arched central entry and an irregular brick surround. With its small mansard roof, it would appear that this structure reflects the *Mission/Spanish Colonial Revival* that was popular during the 1920s. According to the Lansing city directories, this building served as the South Lansing Postal Station from at 1925-1951.

Overall, the extant commercial architecture fronting on S. Washington and South Street within the River Point Neighborhood represents the logical extension of the Lansing's urban center during the early decades of the 20th century. Anchored by the c. 1870s railroad corridor and c. 1902 station on the south end and the modern replacement for the c. 1870s Grand River bridge on the north end, it is historically apparent that the development of this commercial strip did not coincide with the either of those events. Rather, the significant commercial development of this portion of S. Washington did not occur until more than 30 years later, in the early 20th century, clearly coincidental with the rise of the local auto industry and the residential saturation of the

River Point Neighborhood. The remnant commercial structures, which date from the period c. 1905-45, are entirely consistent with this land use history.

Summary

Based on the documentation provided above, it can be determined that the River Point Neighborhood was founded in the latter decades of the 19th century as an urban neighborhood of predominantly single-family homes, catering to the working classes employed in the local commercial and industrial concerns. Based on the known or postulated construction dates of the surviving structures, it can be determined that more than 95% of the original building cycle structures were constructed between 1880-1930, and that more than 75% of those original building cycle structures were constructed between 1890-1920. It should be noted that these dates correspond very well to the transition to and rise of the automobile industry as one of Lansing's principal economic engines.

Although the residences and shops of the working classes cannot be generally attributed to individual architects or builders, they are representative of both regional and national housing trends (e.g., Late Victorian, Colonial Revival, Dutch Colonial, Bungalow/Craftsmen, Italianate), exhibiting an attention to architectural detail that in many cases denies their working class origins. Although many of these original details and flourishes have been stripped off or covered over during the 70-120 years that have elapsed since their original construction, the original character of the buildings is still evident in their broadest outlines, particularly with respect to their positioning on the neighborhood's landscape. The continued presence of nearly 100% of the original building cycle structures, and the near absence of subsequent infilling of post-1930 structures, has maintained a general feeling of time and space that is largely consistent with that which must have been evident to the neighborhood's original residents. This feeling is most evident within that portion of the neighborhood lying to the east of Washington Avenue, and to the north of South Street.

In the same sense that the hands of individual architects and builders are perhaps least evidenced in a working class neighborhood, much the same can be said of its residents. While significant individuals and events are not readily apparent within the River Point Neighborhood, both its former and current residents have provided and continue to provide the grist that fuels Lansing's industrial base. In that sense, the River Point Neighborhood, as well as many other comparable neighborhoods, can be conceptualized as both a necessary precursor to and a product of Lansing's early twentieth century industrial expansion.

It should be noted that both the fabric and texture of the River Point Neighborhood have been retained despite the numerous structural alterations that have occurred over the past century. In point of fact, it was those various *improvements* (including replacement siding (asbestos, aluminum, and more recently, vinyl), replacement windows, enclosed porches, etc.) that preserved both the housing and commercial stock. While structures within more affluent neighborhoods are ultimately saved through *gentrification* (cf., the North Capitol Neighborhood), working class neighborhoods are typically only preserved by their maintenance as viable, working class housing stock. And this, in fact, is what has occurred within the River Point Neighborhood. Despite the alteration of the structural fabric, which is largely reversible, the texture of the neighborhood has been preserved. Thus, the majority of the extant structures, which reflect nearly a century of routine maintenance and modification, remain *contributing* structures with the proposed River Point Neighborhood Historic District.

3.4 Recommendations

Bounded by the Grand and Red Cedar rivers on the north, east and west, and the Grand Trunk Western RR on the south, the River Point Neighborhood can be viewed as an isolated entity, both in space and in time. Despite the fact that the area contains few individual structures that have proven or would prove eligible for nomination to the NRHP, either through architectural merit or through association with significant persons or events, the overall study area does represent a highly important collection of residences and commercial structures that characterize and exemplify the lives of Lansing's working classes during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It is our contention that the architectural record of those lives, particularly as represented by an area with the overall architectural and aesthetic integrity of the River Point Neighborhood, represents a significant resource relating to local, regional and national history. This resource that would appear to qualify for nomination as a NRHP Historic District under Criterion B, being *associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the patterns of our history*, and under Criterion C, embodying *the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction ... that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction*.

Contributing Structures

1003 Clear	1015 S. Grand	1106 Platt
1004 Clear	1017 S. Grand	1110 Platt
1005 Clear	1022 S. Grand	1116 Platt
1006 Clear	1025 S. Grand	1122 Platt
1007 Clear	1026 S. Grand	1128 Platt
1008 Clear	1031 S. Grand	1130 Platt
1012 Clear	1033 S. Grand	1134 Platt
1015 Clear	1101 S. Grand	1136 Platt
1016 Clear	1102 S. Grand	109-111 E. South
1017 Clear	1104 S. Grand	119 E. South
1018 Clear	1105 S. Grand	213 E. South
1019 Clear	1107 S. Grand	215 E. South
1023 Clear	1109/11 S. Grand	217 E. South
1028 Clear	1114 S. Grand	219 E. South
1029 Clear	1117 S. Grand	221 E. South
1030 Clear	1118 S. Grand	225 E. South
1031 Clear	1123 S. Grand	227 E. South
1032 Clear	1125 S. Grand	301 E. South
1034 Clear	1126 S. Grand	117 W. South
123 Cottage	1128 S. Grand	121 W. South
125 Cottage	1134 S. Grand	125 W. South
110 E. Elm	1135 S. Grand	927 S. Washington
112 E. Elm	1138 S. Grand	1000-1006 S. Washington
116 E. Elm	1139 S. Grand	1001 S. Washington
119-121 E. Elm	1140 S. Grand	1005 S. Washington
120-122 E. Elm	1145 S. Grand	1101 S. Washington
123 E. Elm	1146 S. Grand	1102 S. Washington
125 E. Elm	116 Gross Court	1103 S. Washington
129 E. Elm	119 Gross Court	1105 S. Washington
214 E. Elm	120 Gross Court	1107 S. Washington
218 E. Elm	121 Gross Court	1111-1119 S. Washington
222 E. Elm	113 E. Hazel	1114-1116 S. Washington
223 E. Elm	118 E. Hazel	1118-1122 S. Washington
927 S. Grand	207 E. Hazel	1133-1149 S. Washington
1003 S. Grand	209 E. Hazel	1136 S. Washington
1006 S. Grand	215 E. Hazel	1200 S. Washington
1007 S. Grand	219 E. Hazel	1202 S. Washington
1008 S. Grand	223 E. Hazel	1203 S. Washington
1011 S. Grand	225 E. Hazel	1206 S. Washington
1012 S. Grand	227 E. Hazel	1208-1210 S. Washington

Non-Contributing Structures

306 E. South
124 W. South
920 S. Washington
1020 S. Washington
1023-1027 S. Washington
1132-1134 S. Washington
1033 S. Washington
1121 S. Washington
1146 S. Washington
1204 S. Washington
1212-1216 S. Washington